

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OMB-01 AID-05 IGA-02 ACDA-07 SAJ-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 /069 W

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O P 070755Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3100

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL IZMIR

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

USNATO 4371

EUCOM

USNMR SHAPE

CINCUSAFE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 2675

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU, US

SUBJ: GREEK REACTION TO US-TURKISH SECURITY AGREEMENT

1. AT HIS REQUEST, I MET, LATE AFTERNOON APRIL 2, WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR COSMADOPOULOS WHO HAD JUST RETURNED TO ANKARA FROM ATHENS. COSMADOPOULOS LEAD OFF CONVERSATION BY REITERATING THE GREAT AGITATION IN SENIOR GOG CIRCLES OVER NEWLY CONCLUDED US-TURKISH SECURITY AGREEMENT. I NOTED THAT THIS WAS NOW A SUBJECT BEING DISCUSSED BETWEEN SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AND THAT, IN ORDER NOT TO MUDDY THE WATERS AT THIS POINT, I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT ALL DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT REMAIN IN THIS CHANNEL.

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2. ON A PERSONAL BASIS, HOWEVER, I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE DEGREE AND INTENSITY OF THE GOG REACTION TO THE NEW AGREEMENT. I ASKED HIM HOW THE AGREEMENT DIFFERED BASICALLY FROM WHAT THE GOT HAD EXPECTED. COSMADOPOULOS WAS UNABLE TO COME UP WITH A VERY MEANINGFUL ANSWER. HE BEGAN BY SAYING THE SIZE OF THE US PACKAGE WAS NOT REPEAT NOT A MATTER OF CONCERN OF THE GOT, THAT THIS WAS MORE OR LESS IN THE REANGE TO BE EXPECTED. WHAT WAS IT THEN, I ASKED, THAT WAS CAUSING THE DIFFICULTY? IN REPLY, COSMADOPOULOS SAID THAT THE GREEKS "FELT THREATENED" BY THE AGREEMENT. IF THE SIZE OF THE AGREEMENT HAD NOT SURPRISED AND DISTURBED THE GOT, I ASKED WHY DID IT FEEL THREATENED--NOTING IN PASSING (AS MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE HAD DONE MUCH MORE VIGOROUSLY TO COSMADOPOULOS THE DAY BEFORE) THAT GOT HAD NOT TRIED TO CUT OFF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE EVEN IN EARLIER PERIOD WHEN NONE WAS COMING TO TURKS. COSMADOPOULOS THEN SAID HE THOUGHT THE BASIC REASON FOR THE GREEK REACTION WAS THAT THE NEW SECURITY AGREEMENT SEEMED TO BE "EMBARGO-PROOF." I MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT RPT NOT EMBARGO-PROOF, THAT UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION THERE COULD BE NO EMBARGO-PROFF AGREEMENT. I ALSO NOTED THAT IT WAS SUBJECT TO AN ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS. COSMADOPOULOS NEXT SAID THAT GOG WAS CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT THIS AGREEMENT WOULD PUT A SPECIFIC AND PRIOR CLAIM ON WHATEVER FOREIGN AID TOTALS (FOR ALL AID RECIPIENTS) WERE VOTED BY CONGRESS. I NOTED THAT THIS CONCERN COULD HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED EARLIER BY THE GOG ABOUT THE SPANISH AGREEMENT AS WELL, BUT GIVEN THE GREEK STRENGTH IN CONGRESS I DOUBTED VERY MUCH THAT THE CUPBOARD WOULD BE BARE BY THE TIME IT CAME TO ARRANGING ASSISTANCE FOR GREECE.

3. I THEN SAID THAT I STILL COULD NOT SEE FROM WHAT COSMADOPOULOS HAD SAID WHY THE AGREEMENT HAD CAUSED SO MUCH CONSTERNATION IN ATHENS. COSMADOPOULOS THEN SAID THAT THERE WAS AN ADDITIONAL POINT WHICH HAD CAUSED PARTICULARLY GRAVE CONCERN. HE THEN REFERRED TO LANGUAGE IN ARTICLE II OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH READS: "THE INSTALLATIONS SHALL NOT BE USED FOR, NOR SHALL THE ACTIVITIES SERVE, PURPOSES OTHER THAN THOSE AUTHORIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY." THE IMPLICATION THAT COSMADOPOULOS DREW FROM THIS WAS THAT THE TURKS

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COULD INSIST THAT THE INSTALLATIONS BE USED AGAINST GREECE. I EXPRESSED MARKED SURPRISE OVER SUCH AN INTERPRETATION AND CAREFULLY EXPLAINED THAT THIS LANGUAGE REGULATED WHAT THE US COULD DO IN SUCH AREAS, FOR EXAMPLE, AS THIRD COUNTRY FLIGHTS TO SAUDI ARABIA OR IRAN. UNLESS GREECE WAS WORRIED THAT THE US WAS PLANNING TO ATTACK THEM, THIS LANGUAGE, I SAID, HAD NO RELEVANCE TO THE CONCERN COSMADOPOULOS HAD EXPRESSED. COSMADOPOULOS HASTILY ASSURED ME THAT GREECE

HAD NO CONCERNS ABOUT THE US INTENTIONS. HE SAID HE NOW UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS LANGUAGE WAS NOT A SUBJECT OF CONCERN "BUT THIS WAS NOT UNDERSTOOD IN ATHENS."

4. FINALLY, COSMADOPOULOS SAID, IN PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF OUR CONVERSATION (AND AFTER I HAD REITERATED THAT I STILL COULD NOT UNDERSTAND FROM WHAT HE HAD REPORTED WHY THE GREEK REACTION HAD BEEN SO INTENSE), THAT PERHAPS THE REAL KEY TO GETTING OUT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IS TO FIND A WAY " TO REESTABLISH CONFIDENCE" BETWEEN THE USG AND THE GOG-- AND THE CLEAR IMPLICATION OF HIS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING REMARKS WAS THAT IN THE END GREECE WAS NOT REPEAT NOT PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DENYING RESOURCES TO TURKEY BUT RATHER WANTED TO BE SURE IT TOO HAD APPROPRIATE SECURITY AND OTHER SUPPORT FROM USG.
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